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OF THE

HON. JAMES E. COOLEY,

BEFORE THE

DEMOCRACY OF SYRACUSE,

IN MASS MEETING ASSEMBLED,

ON

TUESDAY EVENING, NOV. 1, 1853.

NEW-YORK:

JOHN F. TROW, PRINTER, 49 ANN STREET.

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THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN IN NEW-YORK.

*PRESIDENTIAL INTERFERENCE BOLDLY
REBUKED AND DENOUNCED.*

THE CANAL POLICY VINDICATED.

SPEECH of the Hon. JAMES E. COOLEY before the Democracy of Syracuse, in mass meeting assembled, on Tuesday Evening, November 1, 1853.

Mr. COOLEY, being loudly called for, and warmly cheered, addressed the immense assemblage as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—I thank you for this warm reception, and for these flattering manifestations of your kind regard.

Since the commencement of the exciting canvass for local officers, now going on in this State, I have not opened my lips publicly, either in commendation of the regular democratic ticket, on which my humble name happens to appear, nor in just condemnation of that nominated by the Barnburner cabal of Tammany Hall. Not that there would have been any impropriety in mounting the stump, in imitation of the high example, in favor of his own election, of the present executive, Governor Seymour; but, however much I might say respecting the acknowledged fitness for office, and the

high accomplishments of the distinguished democratic nominees with whom I have the honor to be associated, I feel so much reluctance in seeming even to be the advocate of any supposed claims of my own, that I should not now venture to come before this large and intelligent assemblage, but that I desire to say a few words about our internal improvements; and, moreover, to repel a wanton personal attack made by the President of the United States through his recognized organ, the Washington Union, with a view to influence and control the local elections of this State.

I remember passing over the site of your city more than thirty years ago. Then it was mostly an uncomely and desolate scene, covered with stumps and trees, with decayed wood, and mud and malaria. Then it had an insalubrious, ungenial aspect, and, in close proximity to it, were vast tracts of primitive forests, stretching off majestically beyond the eye's comprehension, and almost illimitable in extent. Then there was little attempt at cultivation in the immediate vicinity of Syracuse, and only a few slightly built houses and shops scattered here and there, mostly along the banks of the newly excavated canal. Then there were no school-houses nor churches in the place; and, I believe, only one small public house, and that was situated on the north or left bank of the canal. There were a few shops, groceries and porter-houses, and some stables for canal horses; but I doubt whether stages began at that time to run through Syracuse. The roads, only endurable in dry weather, were impassable during the rainy season, in late autumn and early spring. In short, Syracuse had then but just emerged out of the gloomy wilderness, the silence of which had but recently been broken, and the forest cleared away, in constructing the canal; which was then so nearly completed along the middle and eastern sections of it, as to admit the passage of boats down to the Hudson.

What a wonderful change has been wrought here since my first visit to Syracuse! How has this great, populous, thriving town sprung up here in the "wild woods of the West," as this region was called less than forty years ago! Where the wilderness, in all its solitude, but so recently and so grandly waved, and so securely sheltered the wild Indian and his

favorite game, we now witness the most animating manifestations of civilization, wealth and refinement. A lively and lucrative commerce crowds your streets and your extensive warehouses, and presses through your city by way of the canals, down to the sea. Your streets are ample, well paved, and every where compactly built up with dwellings, stores and work-shops, proudly indicating an industrious, enterprising and prosperous population.

Your churches seen from afar, attest your devotion to the Great Giver of every perfect gift; and your numerous school-houses and institutions of learning, promise a long and vigorous perpetuity to the incomparable blessings of civil and religious liberty. Scarcely has one generation passed away, when, from a scene of desolation, wildness and seclusion, has sprung up here in the geographical centre of the Empire State, a great, populous city, and abounding in wealth. On every hand the seal of prosperity is stamped upon the enterprise and industry of an intelligent people. The surrounding forests have long since vanished; and a numerous yeomanry pursue their peaceful occupations upon the mountain sides, and upon the fertile plains, reaping a generous return for their good husbandry and careful management. Here, in the city and in the surrounding country is presented on every hand, the strongest evidence of contentment and of a high civilization, contrasting so strikingly with its former aspect, that one may justly inquire into the primary causes of this astonishing change.

Yours is an inland town, situated upon no large navigable river, nor is it very near to any, by which the redundant products of a densely populated district might conveniently be conducted to market. You are 300 miles from the nearest seaport; naturally shut out, as it were, by a long and expensive transportation, from the commerce of the world. Why is it that you have been enabled so completely to overcome these natural disadvantages—and that you are now nearer in point of time, to the great commercial emporium of this continent—the city of New-York—the best market in the world—than you were, less than forty years ago, to the neighboring city of Utica? What has been done for you, or what have you done for yourselves, to produce this wonderful change in

the present prosperity and bright future prospects of your large city and its fertile and extensive environs? What has so soon converted a wilderness into a garden of civilization, beauty and productiveness—that has raised the price of your soil from a few cents, to fifty, seventy, and in some instances, to hundreds of dollars per acre?

The answer to these important inquiries—deeply important to every patriotic citizen of this State—is, I doubt not, at this moment, upon the lip of every intelligent man now within the sound of my voice. You will say with one united voice—with one great, earnest, harmonious tone—with a sound that will echo to the utmost verge of the State, in all directions, in all places, and at all times, that your prosperity has been, and must continue to be, attributable to the great Erie Canal! It is, indeed, to be attributed to that Herculean enterprise. Had not that canal been constructed, it is not, I venture to say, too much to assert, that this city would never have existed! Had the enemies of the immortal Clinton succeeded in their fiendish hostility to his enlightened and patriotic plans of internal improvements, this spot, where we now stand—the surrounding country in all directions—the rich Genesee valley, and the wheat growing plains of the central and western sections of the State, now so populous, so highly cultivated, so rich, and so prosperous, would have mostly remained to this day, like the dense forests of the northern counties, in a state of primitive grandeur and gloom! Here, but for the construction of that noble, State-enriching public work—that great civilizing instrument—which has subdued the wild regions of the west and filled them with populous towns—which has diffused a healthful fragrance throughout the land and given unparalleled vigor, animation and enterprise to our people, the untamed Indian might yet bask him in the sullen majesty of impenetrable seclusion—the monarch of a woody waste. Yes, my fellow-citizens, strange as it may seem to some, and doubtful perhaps to others, who have contested, and will contest against the internal improvements of this State, which have enriched and benefited every department of trade, had Clinton, through the wicked persecutions which he suffered for more than a quarter of a century, from the enemies of internal improve-

ments, failed of convincing the people of their perfect practicability and advantage to the public interest, the Erie canal might never have been achieved; and this fertile section of country, now the scene of so much commercial, manufacturing and agricultural activity and opulence, might have continued comparatively uninhabited, uncultivated, and unredeemed, for many long years. The shores of the great inland seas of the west, and the borders of the large navigable streams north and south, much of which still remains unoccupied, would all have been settled long ago. That part of the State bordering the St. Lawrence, which is now but sparsely populated, would have presented a more inviting prospect to the interests of the farmer, the manufacturer, and the merchant, than this, had the Erie canal not been constructed. The country bordering the St. Lawrence naturally looks down that noble river to a market—to an easy, cheap, and direct communication with Montreal, Quebec, and with foreign countries, through the connection of that stream, navigable for vessels of all sizes, with the Atlantic Ocean. This fine river is the natural outlet of the great and increasing commerce of the west, draining vast productive territories in the north, as does the Mississippi on the south.

But happily for the early development of the natural resources of central and western New-York, for the great and permanent interest of this and many of the western States; indeed, I may say for the Union itself, and for the sacred cause of humanity, the bad counsels of Clinton's enemies did not prevail; the Van Burens, the Roots, the Youngs, and the bucktail Barnburners of Clinton's time, were scattered to the winds, whenever he came before the people. When the people, through the clear and vigorous intellectual powers of Clinton, and Morris and Fulton, had become sufficiently well informed upon the subject to understand its advantages, the canal was a favorite theme with them, and the more the great projector of that noble enterprise was persecuted, derided, and hunted down by his opponents, the dearer did Clinton become in the eyes of the people, and the more confidence was inspired in the ultimate benefits to be derived from the completion of the canal. Clinton and Morris sought an easier, a

more direct, a cheaper and a safer communication between the western regions, which they foresaw must become densely populated, and the Atlantic, by means of a canal, which should divert western commerce from the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and conduct it directly down through their own State to the commercial metropolis, thereby enriching the whole State, whose entire population was then less, by nearly one hundred thousand, than that of the city of New-York at the present time. Virginia, at the commencement of the present century, when the project of a ship canal first began to be publicly discussed, had a population larger, by nearly three hundred thousand, than New-York, and a much greater valuation of property. Pennsylvania had nearly one hundred thousand more inhabitants, and North Carolina nearly equalled it; while Massachusetts had scarcely one hundred thousand less, and an amount of available wealth far surpassing this State. How wonderful the contrast now in favor of New-York, which has outstripped in wealth, population, and progressive improvement, every other State in the Union, ever since the construction of the Erie and Champlain canals, which have conducted the trade of the west down through our State; and the city of New-York has presented a scene of activity and growth, unparalleled in modern times.

Yet, however great have been the advantages of your canals to the State, however much they may have contributed to its settlement, and developed its abundant resources, and particularly those of the central and western sections of it, and however much they have contributed to swell the population and wealth of your cities, these great public achievements were only urged through to completion by the patriotic Clinton, after many patient years of ardent struggles against the insane opposition of those who were really more benefited by these improvements than himself; but who, nevertheless, ceased not to persecute him to the day of his death.

The entire delegation in both houses of the Legislature, from the city of New-York, and the extreme southern and eastern counties of the State, voted against constructing the Erie canal. Many patriotic citizens then, as now, looked up to noisy partisan leaders—who clamorously told the people,

that Clinton's project of a canal was impracticable, and would involve the State in irretrievable bankruptcy and ruin! They represented him as a theorizing, visionary, ambitious political aspirant; seeking to ride into power by means of his project—which they derisively denominated "Clinton's ditch." They spared neither money nor time in their unremitted and wicked efforts, to obstruct the public improvements; and they resorted to the most despicable means for annoying Clinton. They even stooped so low—(if such men, in doing a mean act, may be said to stoop,) as to procure his removal, under the administration of Governor Yates, from the office of Canal Commissioner; an onerous position, which he had worthily filled, and with great advantage to the public interests, without receiving the slightest remuneration for his services.

Van Buren and his hireling clique of unscrupulous intriguers, after failing in their design to defeat the re-election of Clinton in 1820, by means of Federal votes—"those high-minded federalists," who declared, by a public proclamation, that "they had no longer any grounds of principle to stand upon,"—who came out in a body and voted for Daniel D. Tompkins, then Vice-President of the United States, who had been dragged out for the occasion, as the only man in the State that could be nominated with any probability of defeating Clinton; these unscrupulous political intriguers against the honest fame of that great man, after being beaten by him before the people, and driven in disgrace from the field, with their federal allies and Bucktail bullies—modernly denominated "short-boys," (a specimen of whom, a few days since, made their impressive advent into this quiet and well-ordered city,) sought to break down the power of Clinton, and hurl him from office, by a revision of the Constitution.

The Convention, which met for that purpose in 1821, made many changes in the Constitution of 1777 without materially improving it; and their illustrious successors, who had it under review again in 1846, made the matter worse! The appointing power, which, for forty-three years, had been exercised by a council of appointment, was, in the Constitution of 1821, vested in the Governor. It made many offices elective, which were previously held by appointment; and on its adoption, it provided for the vacation of all offices

held by virtue of the old Constitution; and Clinton went out of office with other incumbents, thus summarily, though constitutionally, dismissed! His Van Buren and Bucktail persecutors, who had struck hands with their new federal allies, one of whom, Rufus King, steadily supported by the federal party from 1789 up to 1814, was re-elected to the Senate of the United States by the coalition of the federal and Van Buren Bucktail vote, now were in hopes that they had destroyed the popularity of Clinton—that they had disposed of their most powerful political opponent, and that they might now rule the State with a high hand.

They elected Judge Yates governor, who, like the present incumbent of that responsible position, did not recommend specifically, in his first message to the Legislature, a single measure.—He played the weak tool of his wirepulling friends; made such appointments as the Van Buren men desired, and aided in the persecutions of Clinton; who, like Daniel S. Dickinson, and those who now sustain his patriotic course, was then derided and held up to public reprobation by a band of office-hunting bucktail marauders, not very dissimilar to the Van Buren, Fowler and Cochrane short-boy slanderers of the present day.

Yates, in the hands of these desperate men, was a convenient tool for a convenient season. Jesse Hoyt was elected a member of the Assembly; William L. Marey was appointed Comptroller, and Van Buren was a Senator of the United States, a position so ardently desired by his reckless son John, who has much stronger claims to that distinction than the father, and intends, eventually, to ride into it on the backs of the short-boys, precisely as the elder Van Buren did, by hanging on to the skirts of the bucktails.

Yates was a mild, weak, inefficient man, of no decision of character, always placing more confidence in a treacherous enemy than in his friends. He acted under the whip and spur of those who effected his downfall, and sought more assiduously to buy over his enemies by the rewards of office, than to conciliate and satisfy his friends, by a clear recognition of their just claims. An ambition to occupy high positions in the public service, for which he was neither fitted

by the endowments of nature nor the accomplishments of art, was the fatal rock on which Mr. Yates finally foundered. He was at length deserted by his political friends, who were, in fact, secret enemies. They had contrived to dupe and use him, to carry out their bad purposes; and, after bringing to the block the head of De Witt Clinton, as the present executive has been called under similar circumstances, to execute John C. Mather, he went out of office unregretted, if not indeed despised.

De Witt Clinton lived to triumph over all his persecutors and political enemies.

When the Bucktail bullies, at the close of Yates's administration, removed Clinton from the office of Canal Commissioner, without preferring any charges of mal-conduct against him, a tone of indignation and rebuke rang throughout the State.

On the last day of the session of the Legislature, a few minutes before the time fixed for the adjournment of both houses, Mr. Bowman, a senator from Monroe county, submitted a resolution for the removal of Clinton from the office of Canal Commissioner! The resolution was acted on without a moment's delay, and all the senators, save three, voted in the affirmative. The resolution was immediately sent to the Assembly, where it was instantly passed by a large majority; showing very clearly that the plot for his sudden and unexpected removal had been deeply and securely laid,—that the ground had been carefully canvassed, and the hangmen hired; that on the day of execution, the gibbet-men, one of whom is Redfield, the new collector, were ready to seize their victim and bind him for the slaughter.

The tyrannical leaders of the Albany regency of that day, like the pitiful scapegraces of a later period, thought that "the times demanded a victim or required an example!" And what a victim! They seized upon De Witt Clinton, the earliest and most devoted friend of internal improvements, whose life had been spent in the faithful discharge of responsible duties in the public service—whose friendship and devotion to the Erie and Champlain canals, only ceased when he himself ceased to breathe! That was the "victim" whom the

Bucktail bullies of 1824 "demanded" and seized; precisely as the Short-boy bullies of 1853 fastened on Commissioner John C. Mather, putting the State to a vast expense for his trial, on trumped-up charges of impeachment, under the pretence that "the times required an example and demanded a victim!" These Short-boy marauders are, forsooth, the professed friends of the people—the political money-saving philosophers of modern times; that is, if you will take their oaths and broken pledges for it.

The people, however, are beginning to find these unscrupulous Short-boy political philosophers out. They have been so often cheated and betrayed by their false promises and spurious tokens, they are not willing longer to trust them. They are soon to be hurled from the high places of public trust, which they have already too long disgraced.

The Bucktail outrage, perpetrated by the removal of De Witt Clinton, operated like an electric shock upon the whole community. Every one was taken by surprise. The people of Albany, without distinction of parties, rushed to the Capitol en masse. They organized a meeting, and passed resolutions commendatory of the great services of Clinton, and deeply condemning the conduct of his political persecutors.

Similar meetings were held in the city of New-York and other parts of the State, reprobating this outrage of the Bucktail bullies and the Albany regency, which at this period began a reign of terror, that, with slight intervals, continued to increase in severity, until the total wreck and overthrow of Van Buren in 1840.

The removal of Clinton failed to produce the effect intended; for, from that moment, and not till then, his friends began to insist that he should be the next candidate for Governor.

Clinton was emphatically the man of the people—in whom they had the fullest confidence. He was a strong man whenever he came before the people, though he could hardly have been called a strong party man. He was never elected on strictly party grounds, though, when in the field, he was the terror to all political partisans, and generally broke down and overrode party discipline and parties themselves, which had the boldness to interpose their opposition to his popularity.

The Van Buren and Albany regency Bucktails nominated as their candidate for Governor, in opposition to Clinton, Colonel Young, a professed admirer and supporter of Henry Clay for the Presidency of the United States; though the regency candidate for that office was Mr. Crawford, for whom Van Buren expressed a decided preference.

Clinton was known to be in favor of General Jackson; and he was the first northern man of any distinction, who openly declared himself in favor of the hero of the battle of New Orleans for the Presidency.

Although the Bucktails and the Albany regency had expected an easy conquest over Clinton, when the election came off, the result astounded men of all parties. It was a complete political avalanche, sweeping all opposition to the winds. Clinton's majority over Young was nearly seventeen thousand; and the new members of the Legislature were three to one in favor of Clinton and the canals. Thus the Bucktails and the Albany regency candidate for Governor, again had their heels tripped up by opposing Clinton, who had on all occasions proved himself to be entirely an over-match for them whenever their strength was tried.

The canals were not yet completed; and it was for the public interest that their great friend and original projector, who had on all occasions exhibited such unwearied zeal and devotion to the prosecution of the work, should continue at the head of the government until their final completion, which was expected to take place in the year 1825, and was then accomplished.

On the second day of November, of that year, this interesting event was celebrated by the discharge of cannon, commencing at Buffalo, and continued along the line of the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson. An immense number of people assembled at Albany; and two canal boats, the "Seneca Chief" and "Young Lion of the West," from Buffalo, in which were the Governor and commissioners, State officers, and distinguished citizens of Albany, and other parts of the State, descended through the locks into the Albany basin, accompanied with the acclamations of a vast crowd of exulting spectators.

Clinton, as Governor of the State, had on the 4th of July,

1817, commenced the canals at the village of Rome, with his own hands, and lived to see them completed and put in successful operation, while he was yet the Chief Magistrate; and at a time when he had reached the summit of his fame as a man of genius, a statesman, and a patriot. What an enviable position had this great public benefactor attained! He had immeasurably benefited and advanced the public interests of his own State, by attracting to it an amount of commerce, that has gone on increasing, and will continue to increase for centuries to come.

But notwithstanding his patriotic devotion to the public service, the vast sources of wealth his genius had opened up to the enterprise of the citizens of New-York, and the undeviating uprightness and purity of his character, while he was celebrating the great achievement of the canals, and conferring honors and riches upon our population, his unscrupulous opponents, the Bucktail bullies and Van Buren intriguers, his deadly enemies and political maligners of twenty-five years standing, were actively engaged among the people, urging them to abandon his standard, and unite in supporting what was in fact the Baraburner principles of the Bucktail party of 1825, which the huckstering politicians denominated the "Republican party," not unlike the spoil-hunters of our time, the Van Burens, the Fowlers, the Cochranes, the Redfields, and other Short-boy politicians, who call their corrupt coalition of odds and ends, of shreds and patches, of ring-streaked, speckled and gray, of every shade of color and hue of political rowdies, marauders, renegades and cut-throats, the "Republican or Democratic party!" When will this prostitution of a name cease?

Scarcely was this great State work completed, when the accumulating business attracted to it, demonstrated that its capacity, already too small, would, in after years, be entirely inadequate for the convenient transportation that would press for admission through its circumscribed channel. This was early foreseen by Clinton himself.

The enlightened and patriotic Gouverneur Morris, who was an enthusiastic supporter of Governor Clinton's canal policy, proposed to construct a ship canal of ample capacity, without

locks, from Lake Erie to the navigable waters of the Hudson ; so that ships might sail from the great inland waters of the west, directly down to the Atlantic Ocean. This was a bold project, at a period when the greatest part of the State was unsettled, and its whole population scarcely reached that now of the city of New-York ; when the whole valuation of all the taxable property in the State but little exceeded \$200,000,000 ; when almost the entire States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan were in a state of primitive wildness, and inhabited by little else than savages and beasts of prey ! Yet, Morris pressed this scheme to such a degree as produced some disagreement between him and other active friends of the canals, so that he subsequently withdrew, in a measure, his support from the plan that was ultimately adopted.

Had the scheme of Morris, or that of Clinton, on an enlarged scale, been adopted in the commencement, it would have added millions upon millions of dollars to the State ; and the paltry political squabbles, waged by those opposed to the enlargement of the Erie canal, during the last twenty years, would have been obviated.

It is, however, possible that, at that period, when the opposition to any canal was exceedingly violent, and our citizens comparatively poor, and but little acquainted with the utility of works of this kind, by attempting too much, the whole scheme might have fallen through, and nothing been accomplished. It is better, therefore, that the practical plan of Clinton, for carrying forward the work to completion, was adopted ; which, at an early day, and within the incredible short space of eight years from the commencement of the canal, demonstrated in the most gratifying manner to this and other States, not only the practicability of constructing canals, but also, their great benefit to the public and private interests of our people.

In the mean time, the business on our canals was rapidly increasing ; lands in the western part of the State, and in other sections of it, which, previous to constructing the canals, were considered of little or no account, at once rose from one to five hundred per cent. in value. So was it, also, with re-

spect to the price of wheat and all agricultural productions ; while every thing that was required for consumption from abroad, by the western farmers and the inhabitants of the interior, along the line of canal, was reduced in price. The western and middle sections of the State were at once reaping a double advantage from the operations of our canals, while New-York city and its environs were immeasurably enriched by it. New towns sprung up along the banks of the canal, of which Syracuse is a shining example—the very creatures of the canal system, without which there would have been little more need of a city here, like what we now see, bustling with a busy population, and crowded with commerce, than exists for a similar city in the depths of the Dismal Swamp ! Turn from it your Erie canal, or “solidify it into solid rock,” as Michael Hoffman once desired might be done, and tear up your railroad, (which is also a child of the canals—a thing that would not, in all probability, have been constructed for fifty or a hundred years hence, had you not first constructed the canals, which have been the means of settling and subduing this section of the State, and populating the western territories, by bringing them within convenient proximity to a market,) and your fair city, like the gorgeous city of Venice, into whose voluptuous lap once poured the golden commerce of the East, would droop, crumble, and decay ! The busy streets would no longer manifest the activity of a lucrative and lively trade, would no longer ring with the happy voices of a numerous surrounding yeomanry, attracted hither with their products on the way to market, or as the most direct and convenient mode of communicating with other sections of the Union. The enterprising, the young, and the active men of business, would seek more congenial fields of labor, and in a few years—in less time than has already been spent by unscrupulous and corrupt politicians, wrangling against the completion of the canals—there would be little to attract attention in the way of business in Syracuse, or in any of the flourishing towns that have sprung up along the line of the Erie canal.

But happily no such state of things is likely to occur. Your flourishing city, and increasing towns and villages that surround it, as well as the numerous cities, villages, and large

establishments throughout the State, no less than the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, must go on increasing, so long as the paternal care of the State shall be extended with a liberal spirit of enlightened policy over its great internal improvements—the great system of canals, projected and carried forward to completion by the incomparable genius and iron energy of De Witt Clinton, and which has warmed and quickened the energies of a mighty people, and thrown among them a degree of wealth, prosperity, and commercial importance, unequalled by all the other States of the Union.

The question of the enlargement of the Erie canal began to present itself as a matter of necessity, even before the lamented death of Clinton, which occurred suddenly on the 11th February, 1828; but nothing was definitely settled with regard to it, until 1835; when, in conformity with the recommendation of Gov. Marcy, a law was passed, authorizing the Canal Board to construct a double set of lift locks, and improve and enlarge the Erie canal.

At a meeting of the Canal Board, soon after the passage of this law, it was unanimously resolved, that the “public interest requires the enlargement and improvement of the Erie canal, and the construction of a double set of locks.” The board at once designated the dimensions of the enlarged canal, and proceeded to let the contracts for doing the work. Every thing went smoothly on with the enlargement, until the close of Governor Marcy’s administration, January 1, 1839; when, in consequence of the mismanagement of Martin Van Buren, who broke down the democratic party, and threw the reins of power into the hands of the whigs, it was, for the first time, since the project had been adopted, that certain old enemies of the canals discovered that this enlargement scheme was all wrong—calculated to corrupt the people and ruin the State! Though previously its advocates, they now began to clamor, and finally took hostile grounds against it. This opposition, violent and incessant at first, did not culminate in virulence, until Van Buren was compelled to walk the plank, and quit the capitol at Washington, in 1840, broken down politically, and forever disgraced. The opposition to enlargement went on accumulat-

ing in bitterness and force, until the winter of 1842; when, owing to the unparalleled embarrassments of the monetary affairs of the commercial world, and, especially in this country, so much difficulty had occurred in raising funds, and so hostile and noisy were the Barnburner bullies, that the Legislature, in an ill advised and evil moment, foolishly passed an act, suspending the enlargement entirely, and repudiating the contracts that had been sacredly entered into on the part of the State! So successful were the industrious enemies of the public works, and so clamorous, that they really made the people believe that there was a necessity for the extraordinary wickedness which they had perpetrated, and that a tax of a mill and a half on the dollar, was needed to sustain the public credit! No such state of things, as was represented through the lying Van Buren and Barnburner presses of that day, had any existence with respect to the canals; which never did, and never can, impose any direct burden upon the exchequer of the State, if a fair management of their revenues is insisted on; and provided, also, the tolls are not reduced unnecessarily low.

On the 30th September, at the close of the fiscal year of 1841, just three months previously to the meeting of the Legislature which unwisely put a stop to the prosecution of the public works, there was, after paying all the interest due on the public debt and all expenses of repairs and superintendence, and \$64,850 89 for extraordinary land damages, and \$200,000 for the current expenses of the government, a surplus standing to the credit of the net revenues of the canals, of \$605,751 06! Had the canal debt at this time been \$10,000,000 more than it actually was, there was yet more than enough net revenue remaining of the business operations of the canals of that year, to have paid promptly the interest on it; and the canal revenues have been annually increasing ever since.

With this state of facts before them, it is, indeed, difficult to see how men of intelligence and fair character, could be so blinded to the true interests of the State, as to join in with the clamorous and unscrupulous enemies of the canals and suspend their prosecution.

This, however, was done; and seriously mischievous have been the consequences that have ensued.

The battle was fought with various success between the friends and the enemies of enlargement, up to the meeting of the convention for revising the Constitution; when, the Barnburner bullies having the ascendancy there, or rather, there being in the Convention more noisy managing Van Buren intriguers than friends of the public works, the whole canal system was tied up in a manner, indicating very clearly, that the adversary had determined to put a final stop to any further progress in the enlargement or completion of the canals.

This was the condition of the canals until the meeting of the Legislature of 1851;—the democratic party being in the mean time, split all to pieces by the perfidious conduct of the Van Buren bullies; the whigs were in power, and undertook to pass an act providing for the speedy enlargement and completion of the canals, by anticipating their surplus revenues, and basing upon them a loan of \$9,000,000 for that purpose. To this proposition, of doubtful propriety, it would have been sufficient for honest men to have interposed a firm and manly opposition, and to have thrown the responsibility of the measure on the whigs, who were largely in the majority in both houses. The barnburner bullies and free-soil short-boys must make a sensation; they could not prevent the passage of the act for the completion of the canals, and they concluded to resign! They did so en masse, and broke up the Legislature and had a new election; and so far as any expression of the people was indicated, with regard to approval or disapproval of the points at issue, it was decidedly against the revolutionary senators. The free-soil short-boys came back into the Senate, which was convened in extra session, with diminished strength.

The extra session in July, 1851, passed the act for completing the canals, by a large majority. I never approved of this measure, myself, believing it unconstitutional and injudicious in some of its provisions, especially, its financial provisions; which proposed to use the credit of the State in procuring a loan to carry on the work, in such manner as not to realize its market value. Nevertheless it was a law of the land. It provided for the speedy enlargement of the Erie and completion of the lateral canals, and all parties began to

think that we had, at last, reached the long delayed period when something would be done towards finishing the public works. Opposition, on the part of the barnburner faction, seemed to have died away. It had become the settled policy of the dominant party, and all seemed finally inclined to acquiesce in it.

In the mean time, the fall elections of 1851, were soon to come off; and the free-soilers, who were, by the coalition between them and the spoil-hunters of the party, on the democratic ticket, being anxious for an election and fearful that the people distrusted their honesty, came out voluntarily with a pledge, got up at the Atlas office in Albany, that, if elected, they would carry out, in good faith, all the provisions of the canal law, which, just at that time, they *professed* heartily to approve of. They had, however, no sooner got warm in their offices, than they began to cast round for means to upset the law and prevent the completion of the canals! Their pledges to the people, they cared nothing about. They regarded those pledges to execute the law for the completion of the canals, just as they do the Baltimore platform and President Pierce's inaugural—as shadows to spit on. They never intended to execute the law; they meant from first to last, and the whole barnburner faction and Van Buren bullies mean still, to defeat all measures for finishing the public works.

Thus the question stood till the fall election of 1852; when Mr. Seymour, being in the field as the coalition candidate for governor, took the stump, declaring his friendship for the public works. But when his message was sent into the Legislature, all his friends favorable to the completion of the canals, were much surprised and perplexed at the vague and unsatisfactory manner in which he alluded to the subject of completing the canals. He can hardly be said to have recommended any plan whatever, for carrying out the enlargement, unless his suggestions, humorously denominated the scratching and tickling plan, be such; which, really, if adopted, would not be likely to redound very much to the credit of the Governor nor prove of any great advantage to the revenues of the canals or the convenience of commerce.

Under these embarrassing circumstances, with a view of

disposing satisfactorily of this exciting question, which had so often been pronounced upon by the people, and with an honest intention of sustaining, so far as it could possibly be done, the position taken by the Governor, a resolution was, on the second day of the last session, introduced in the Senate, and passed that body almost unanimously, referring so much of the Governor's message as related to the subject of the canals, to a joint select committee of the two houses, with instructions to report by bill, providing for the speedy enlargement of the Erie, and the early completion of the lateral canals.

From the large majority in favor of this resolution in the Senate, it was hoped by the friends of the canals, as well as those who desired the union of the democratic party, that it might meet with equal favor before the Assembly; and that some feasible plan for completing the canals would be adopted, and that question be withdrawn from the arena of party politics, where it had so long been scuffled over by demagogues and political hucksters, much to the detriment of the public interest, and seriously injurious to the commercial convenience of our citizens. Unhappily, however, these reasonable hopes were not realized. A settled determination to defeat the measure at all hazards, was most palpably manifest on the part of nearly all the Barnburner bullies, who were set on and headed by the Speaker of the House, although he had promised the mover of the resolution and other Senators and friends of the canals, that he would support the proposition for a final disposition of this question.

At first, so strong was the sentiment in favor of the canals, in and out of the Legislature, it was supposed that the resolution would pass the Assembly, notwithstanding the bitter hostility manifested on the part of the implacable adversaries; who, in discussing the question before the House, not only inveighed bitterly against the resolution, but ungenerously attacked the mover of it, and unjustly maligned his motives.

The debate went on for weeks, increasing in virulence, unfairness, and abuse, until the barnburner bullies and free-soil foes to the completion of the canals became ferocious. Their press-gang scavengers, and camp-followers of party,

were loudly invoked for aid. These, with the Governor and the State officers, entered the lobby against the resolution, which was defeated, after a severe struggle, by the casting vote of the Speaker!

When this result was known in the Senate, Judge Vanderbilt introduced a resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution, for the purpose of completing the canals out of their surplus revenues, and without imposing onerous taxes on the people for that purpose. This reasonable project met with scarcely so much favor from the barnburner bullies as that which had just been lost by their opposition to it in the Assembly. Senator Vanderbilt, and his plan for completing the unfinished canals, at once became the target of attack from the enemies of the public works in the Legislature, no less than from all the unscrupulous barnburner presses throughout the State. For months, these unprincipled Short-boy adversaries to the internal improvement system of Clinton, which has so largely enriched the State, and conferred such lasting honor upon the memory of its projector, fought with the virulence and desperation of fiends against the plan proposed by Mr. Vanderbilt; contending inch by inch against every step that was taken with a view to amend the Constitution, which they declared should remain in statu quo through all coming time as a sacred monument, reared by the Convention of 1846, to the memory of Michael Hoffman! But, however strenuously the amendment, proposed by Mr. Vanderbilt, was contested by the barnburner desperadoes in the Senate, it passed that body by a large majority, and was sent down to the Assembly, where, as all the friends of the measure feared, it was thrown out and lost, through the inflexible opposition to it on the part of the sworn enemies of canals.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, when the free-soil members returned from their constituents, after the recess, to resume their seats in the extra session of the Legislature, so strong did they find the canal sentiment pervading all classes of community, that they found it necessary to change, in appearance at least, the ground they had previously occupied in opposition to the public works.

They now pretended to be in favor of amending the Constitution; went strongly for the "Vanderbilt plan" for finishing the canals, and wound up by claiming that plan as a very wise and commendable scheme of *their own*!

These, in brief, are the circumstances that you have to contemplate, as connected with a great public interest, in which you, as a community and as individuals, have as large a stake as any equal number of our fellow citizens in the State. And now I ask you, in conclusion of this branch of my remarks, whether it is possible or safe for you to trust these unscrupulous, swindling Barnburner bullies and plunderers any further with the management of your affairs, after their so often repeated and flagrant betrayal of the confidence that has been placed in them?

These men, or their party tools, are now before you, asking again for your suffrages that they may still cling to the patronage and spoils of office; and that they may consummate their wicked schemes of plunder and disruption of the Union! You must decide this question for yourselves; it is a sovereign right with which no power on earth can interfere. But, while this right to decide for himself, as to whom he will give his suffrage, is a conceded, absolute right, belonging to every American citizen, he should not be unmindful that it carries along with it responsibilities of a high character, with respect to the manner in which he shall exercise that sacred right. He may not, with impunity and without injustice to those who may come after him, nor without doing violence to a common sentiment, become instrumental in the elevation of reckless, unprincipled men, aiming, in every act of their lives, to overreach their fellow citizens, to plunder the State and overthrow the government. It becomes, therefore, a matter of no incurious or unimportant inquiry, to investigate the claims of the Short-boy nominees—to look these Barnburner bullies, "free men and witnesses," full in the face, and demand wherefore they come before the people, with their lips blistered with lies, their hearts black with deception, and their every feature smothered with treachery, asking, nay, claiming and even fighting for the places of honor and trust that can never be safely confided to them? The question is

not so much whether this or that party shall assume the reins of power; whether this or that sentiment shall have the ascendancy, nor whether this or that ism shall attract to its inculcators the most attention; nor, indeed, is it confined to the simple consideration of whether or not our system of internal improvements shall be sustained, and our canals be completed or go to decay. It is one of much more vital consequence to every American citizen; to every father who has a son or a daughter to educate; to every mother who regards her offspring with a mother's tenderness and love; to every child who has a parent to adore and obey. It is whether this country shall hereafter be governed by a system of laws, affording equal protection to all its citizens, as hitherto, in the better days of the republic, or whether it is hereafter to be ruled by violence and brute force; by ruffians, bullies and pugilistic marauders; by bandits and desperadoes; such wretches as were transported here a few days since from the city of New-York, by Cochrane, Fowler, Van Buren and Redfield, and backed by the Governor and the State officers, as "free men and witnesses," for the purpose of overawing and controlling the proceedings of the State Convention; and, if necessary, in order to effect that object, to assassinate the peaceable and respectable delegates sent here by an unbiased and confiding people! That, fellow citizens, is the great and important question which you have, in fact, to settle at the polls by the suffrages that you shall give at the coming election. This question you must meet full in the face. You cannot avoid it if you would. Its all pervading necessity impels itself upon you in every relation of life; in your families and in your fields; in your counting-houses and in your courts of justice; in your shops and in your manufactories; every where it meets you and presses home to every man's business and bosom, demanding, with the impressive voice of patriotism, an immediate and satisfactory solution. Will you shrink from it? Dare you shrink from its encounter fairly and fully at this crisis in the affairs of your country?

The "union and harmony" rowdies, with their Short-boy adjuncts, with Redfield, Cochrane, and Fowler at their head, and Van Buren, Cassidy, Wright, and Seynour at their tail,

make their advent here in your quiet and well ordered city for the purpose, as they pretend, of meeting in convention the delegates regularly chosen by the people to nominate State officers. None of these Short-boy or office-holding "free men and witnesses," as they are called, had the shadow of a title to a seat in the convention. Then why were they here? For what purpose did they rush into the hall like a pack of wolves, howling and hooting at the top of their voices, and carrying confusion and disorder wherever they polluted the atmosphere with their profanity and the fumes of bestial dissipation?

Why did Redfield, Cochrane, and Fowler, leave the duties of their responsible offices to attend the State convention? For what purpose were Governor Seymour, John C. Wright, Levi S. Chatfield, and other officers of the State and national administrations, here on that memorable occasion? They were not delegates; why were they here? Cochrane, an officer of General Pierce, says they were here as "freemen and witnesses," to promote "union and harmony" in the democratic party, and to "speak by authority!" "Speak by authority!" An officer of the general government speaking by authority in a convention of the citizens of the State of New-York!

What authority has the President of the United States to speak by his minions, or even in person, in a convention of this or any other State, convened for the nomination of its local officers? Who ever heard of this assumption of authority on the part of a President of the Union before? We utterly repudiate and condemn all such authority on the part of the officers of the general government; whether it be General Pierce himself, or his low sutlers, scavengers, and camp-followers, on whom he has so unwisely lavished nearly the whole patronage of his administration. We care not a rush for General Pierce or any other ephemeral emblem of power, belonging to the State or national administration, no longer than such typical incumbent of a temporary position shall manifest sufficient respect for his own official standing to show a decent regard for the feelings and rights of those to whom he is mostly indebted for the exalted station which he so signally fails to adorn.

I care not whether this be declared from the house-top, or the steps of the capitol at Washington, so lately the pedestal where General Pierce harangued a multitude, in a noisy, pompous stump speech, denominated the "President's Inaugural." If General Pierce demeans himself as a sensible, sober man, occupying the distinguished station to which he has been raised, he will be entitled to, and will receive, the respect and consideration, from the people who have placed him in office, that is due to the President of the United States. If, however, he chooses to sink the high dignity of his exalted position down to the low level of blackguards, short-boys, rowdies, pugilists, gamblers, drunkards, and political hucksters, on whom he has already bestowed too large a share of government patronage, and attempts to exercise an unwarrantable authority, through such detestable creatures, in our local affairs, he must expect to be looked upon, himself, as on a level with the companions he chooses for his associates, and be content to receive the same meed of disapprobation with which they are, every where, by all good citizens, justly regarded. The office of President of the United States, nor any office in the gift of the President, cannot, of itself, make a man respectable who chooses to cling to, and associate with rowdies, disorganizers, bandits, and partisan pugilists. Nor can it make an honest man of one who is naturally, and of his own volition, a blackhearted, ungrateful traitor. General Pierce has yet, I doubt not, sense enough remaining, to comprehend the full force and truth of this assertion. No one, I venture to say, whether he be a political opponent, or partisan supporter of the President, was inclined to find fault with General Pierce. On the contrary, all were disposed to regard the incoming administration with a spirit of liberality, so far as its policy and its acts entitled it to approval. His inaugural, as a declaration of the principles laid down by General Pierce, for the guidance of his administration, was generally well received. No part of the American people appeared to be particularly dissatisfied with the principles it embraced, or the manner in which they were declared, except the Van Buren factionists, and the Barnburner bullies, who recently came here with their Short-boy companions, and, as they declared,

"by authority from Washington," broke up the Democratic Convention, and converted the quiet town of Syracuse into a disgraceful arena of pugilism and slung-shot dexterity.

These desperadoes, who, in 1848, defeated Gen. Cass by uniting their strength, such as it was, with the abolitionists (whom they subsequently betrayed), and the renegade whigs who joined that nefarious coalition, manifested at the time of its appearance, a good deal of uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the inaugural of General Pierce. Entertaining the disorganizing and detestable sentiments they do, they had some reason for apprehension, for those of their ilk, not then in the secret of the programme of the President, believed, with the democrats who had always stood by the compromise measures and the Constitution, that the sounding declarations of General Pierce, as put forth in his stump speech inaugural, really meant something. They thought at first, as did the true friends of the President, that his political antecedents were such as to entitle him to belief as a man of truth and veracity. They had not the remotest idea then, that General Pierce intended so soon to repudiate, by his own suicidal acts, the principles he laid down in his inaugural. They never dreamed of such a foolish absurdity on the part of the President of the United States; for the reason that they were not then apprised of the President's policy, which was not in any degree developed in the inaugural. With the exception of this singular clique of malcontents, who have subsequently been so much warmed into executive favor, people generally were satisfied with the new President, and wished well to his administration. It appeared to be the settled opinion of conservative, well demeaned men of all political parties, that the country had made a fortunate escape from the mischievous designs of the opponents of General Pierce, whose candidate for the Presidency, though a highly honorable veteran soldier, who had fought gloriously in the cause of freedom, was supposed to be so much under the control and dictation of certain whig free-soilers, as, in case of his election, to endanger, by the policy his subtle advisers might induce him to adopt, the stability of the Union, and possibly upset the government.

How little did men of this opinion foresee that, by the

election of General Pierce, this country was likely to fall into the same difficulty, which they so assiduously endeavored to avoid by the rejection of General Scott!

When the famous inaugural came from Washington, a set of resolutions indorsing it were introduced into the Assembly by Hon. Daniel B. Taylor; but the Speaker being a rowdy, unscrupulous Short-boy, who had no regard for the rules of the House, and accustomed to rule with palpable injustice towards all the members whom he failed to corrupt and inveigle into his deceptive political meshes, interposed such obstacles to the efforts of Mr. Taylor, that it was a long time before he could get his inaugural-indorsement resolutions up for consideration. When he at last succeeded and brought the question of their adoption or rejection to a vote, the Short-boy Speaker left the chair with all his Barnburner bullies, and fled from the House with as much precipitation as people living in tropical climates, sometimes quit their dwellings at the sound of an earthquake! They would not vote upon them at all. They regarded them as directly in conflict with their political faith, the articles of which were to be found in the Buffalo platform; but no part of them could they, at that time, discover in the inaugural of General Pierce. The resolutions of Mr. Taylor, indorsing the inaugural, were, nevertheless, passed in the Assembly by a handsome majority, many of the whigs voting in the affirmative, as well they might, for no sane man could discover much that was objectionable in them, or the document they sanctioned. The stampedeers, however, thought they discovered "a negro in the fence," so they "cut stick, and ran!"

Mr. John Van Buren, a few days since, at a Barnburner Free-Soil fizzle, called a ratification meeting of the "softs," got up by some of his bowie-knife and slung-shot "freemen and witnesses," at the Capitol in Albany, in repeating his famous empty-barrel-head itinerant speech of the memorable free-soil campaign of 1848, with some *modifications*, paid what he called "his respects" to me, and undertook to define my position, to designate my political relations and affinities, to place me on the whig platform, as this great Edile of the Buffalo and other platform constructions has recently undertaken to transfer

the abolition and free-soil whig coalition of 1848 from the celebrated platform of that day to that of Baltimore, somewhat after the manner the automaton chess-player moves the various pieces on the board to win the "spoils."

In his fabulous fanfaronade of flummery and falsehood, spewed out in the vestibule of the Capitol, (which, from a report of it in that loathsome sewer of short-boy filth, called the "Albany Evening Atlas," was evidently intended to be, on paper, a funny thing, it being at almost every other line interlarded with—"laughter," "applause," "great laughter," "renewed laughter," "roars of laughter," "laughter," "great applause," "laughter," "laughter and applause," "renewed applause and laughter," and finally closing the melancholy diatribe with "great applause," but which, I understand, was rather a gloomy affair,) John says:

"The course of Mr. Cooley, who, during the last session, voted steadily with the whigs, must show you that he never intended to act with the democrats."

Again, John remarks, in connection with his vulgar fabrications, while coarsely commenting on the free-soil impeachment trial of John C. Mather: "I shall probably have occasion at some other time to speak of the Judge, who is on the same ticket, and who voted this gentleman innocent—Mr. Cooley, and of the counsel, Mr. Brady, who defended him, and is now on the same ticket with him; but, for the present, it is sufficient to call your attention to these gentlemen just to show you what kind of people they use for breaking up the democratic party, how far they are steeped in corruption, and what the contest is that you have to meet."

Thus, this short-boy vagrant, after assuming the character of every conceivable shade, stripe, and hue of all political parties; after uniting his fortunes with every imaginable waif, shred, and patch of political cabals, squads, and factions, as he and his father did, in 1848, in order to break down the democratic party, and defeat General Cass, the democratic nominee for the presidency; after appearing in every character, and under every despicable phase of party; after attempting to be "every thing by turns," but, in effect, accomplishing nothing but mischief, this profligate politician, in his fulsome

falsehoods, of which he relieved himself in the Capitol, has the brazen-faced impudence to call me, who have never failed nor faltered in the cause of democracy; and have always been with the party through evil and through good report, "no democrat!"—to accuse me with "having voted steadily with the whigs!"

When did I ever vote on political questions with any other than the democratic party? "Voted steadily with the whigs!" says this common slanderer! I recollect very well that the whigs "voted very steadily" with me, on my motions to defeat certain short-boy nominations of Governor Seymour, who were, I am told, the slung-shot companions of John Van Buren; among whom was one Briggs, who was nominated, if I remember correctly, for Salt Inspector—an office of some little responsibility and importance in this county. I recollect the circumstance quite distinctly; and, to say nothing of the effect of his defeat on the nominee himself, I understand that it annoyed Governor Seymour and the eloquent floodgate of slung-shot falsehoods, John Van Buren, most prodigiously. But the nominee having been represented in the Senate as a public delinquent, I felt it to be my duty, however it might affect the gentleman himself, and his pugilistic friend, John Van Buren, and the Governor, to defeat his nomination; and the whigs did me the favor to vote with me for the accomplishment of that desirable object.

I am told that the gentleman has since threatened to meet me at "Philippi." And, should I ever take it into my head to go to "Philippi," I suppose I shall have the pleasure to meet the gentleman there; though I am sorry to say that I hardly think I shall be able to make a journey to that noted place expressly for that purpose.

John, moreover, charges me, in the Short-boy performance, which I have had occasion to allude to and quote from, with being "steeped in corruption!"

Having been in the free-soil teapot of Barnburner villany, "steeping in corruption," almost from the cradle up to the moment of exuding his late calumnies at the Capitol, against Daniel S. Dickinson, Mr. Brady, Judge Vanderbilt, and almost every respectable Democrat in the State, I have no sort

of doubt, whatever, of his thorough acquaintance with corruption of the most corrupt and rotten description; if not, I can only say, that thirty or forty years "steeping" him in it, and testing its quality in its various stages, have been lavished on him in that line, to very little purpose.

So much for John Van Buren, "Prince John," as he is sometimes derisively called; much such a kind of prince, I suppose, as is the ruler of the pit—"the prince of devils," the "prince of humbugs," and the "prince of liars." He is now, I am told, perambulating the State, boasting that he has got "Bronson's head in a basket!" reminding one forcibly of another profligate prostitute of ancient times, who was seen with a very good man's "head in a charger," which, to gratify a base passion, had been severed by order of a drunken Governor of Judea, at a bacchanalian banquet, given at the "White House," or bestial mansion of that wicked prince, near Jerusalem. The parallel between the characters of both the possessors of the head of John the Baptist and Bronson the Collector, no less than of the two deluded rulers, who unwisely ordered the unoffending victims to the block, is too manifestly striking not to impress upon the mind of every one the melancholy truth, that "when the wicked rule, the people mourn."

"Bronson's head in a basket!" says this itinerant polluted speech filter of Short-boy obscenity as he swings his listless length from one Barnburner squad to another, jeering and scoffing at the stern virtues, patriotism, and the unwavering political principles of the man, who, to appease the urgent demands of John and his mean associates in political profligacy, was victimized and martyred by the unhallowed hands of treachery and imbecility!

"Bronson's head in a basket!" And why has Bronson been singled out, of all the nominees of the President, for the sacrifice—for the victim to give hilarity and mirth to the reckless band of filibusteros, who now, and always have, enjoyed more of General Pierce's confidence than all the members of the National democratic party put together? What reason do the high functionaries at Washington, who are evidently giddy with the reins of power, temporarily placed in their hands by

a confiding people, give for summarily "demanding the head of Bronson!" for ejecting that highly accomplished, pure-minded, patriotic man, from the office of Collector of the port of New-York—an office which he never sought, and only consented to accept to oblige the President, and relieve him from an unpleasant embarrassment; and which he has filled with so much satisfaction to the country, and so much honor to himself! Why was this done? What great political principle is to be favorably affected by it, or what important question of public policy is to be advanced by it? What is the secret of this high-handed outrage of President Pierce, accompanied by the vituperative and shameless missive of insult, vulgarity, and coarseness, hurled from the office of the Secretary of the Treasury, at the unoffending head of the Collector, as it fell into the Judas-Iscaiot basket, or bag, of John Van Buren, by command of a fifth-rate country court, pettifogger of New Hampshire, who, by accident simply, happened to reach an exalted position, only to abuse its power. Why, again, I ask, was the head of the victim called for, and the slaughter demanded?

It was simply because Judge Bronson had the independent manliness to indicate to the unscrupulous cabal of Tammany Hall, who had insultingly and with characteristic effrontery, undertaken to use his great name as a decoy in furtherance of their intrigues against the democratic party, that he should exercise an inalienable right, of which no power on earth, but that of a revolution, can deprive him or any other citizen of this State—the right of suffrage, in support of the regularly nominated democratic ticket, instead of the short-boy nominations, which he utterly repudiated and entirely disapproved of. That is the true reason; that is the whole amount of the collector's offending, from beginning to end; for which he has been so unhandsomely used by the President, and so base-ly traduced and jeered at by the minions of power and John Van Buren, who scoffingly itinerates through the rural districts, diffusing his falsehoods, and boasts that he has "Bronson's head in a basket!" That is the true reason; and that is the only reason. If any man doubts it, he will have abundant evidence to relieve his mind from any further doubt

on this subject, by reading from the Washington Union of October 23, 1853, the recognized official organ of General Pierce, an editorial article, headed "THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY VINDICATED—OFFICIAL INSUBORDINATION DISCOURAGED—FACTIOUS DISORGANIZATION REBUKED!" from which I beg leave to quote a few striking extracts, which will not fail to make the truth of my assertion very clearly manifest.

"It will be remembered that the first act of Collector Bronson which attracted public attention to his position, was his letter to the Tammany committee, in which he avowed his determination to support the ticket on which were the names of James E. Cooley, for Comptroller, and James T. Brady, for Attorney General. Before the assembling of the convention which nominated these gentlemen, they had assumed an attitude of hostility to the administration which placed them as clearly in the opposition as if they had openly assumed the name of whigs. To show the real import of the action of the convention in nominating these gentlemen, and of the support given to them by Mr. Bronson, we will turn for a moment to some of their antecedents.

"On the 2d June, 1853, Mr. Cooley delivered an elaborate speech in the New-York Senate, in which he denounced, in unmeasured terms, that portion of the democratic party which had supported Mr. Van Buren in 1848, and charged that their recognition as national democrats by President Pierce was a violation of the sentiments declared by him in his letter to Major Lally, and in his Inaugural Address.

"Mr. Cooley said that President Pierce had been faithless to all his professions concerning the compromise measures! He had called around him the men who had sought to destroy the Union. He had deserted all his principles, and he (Mr. C.) denounced him as having forsaken the doctrines of his former votes, and all the declarations upon which the democratic party had elected him. He has disappointed the country—disappointed all his friends—by calling around him men who, in 1848, had attempted to overturn the Union. The very nullifiers and disorganizers were astonished at the length to which he had gone."

“Mr. Brady had acted as the presiding officer of a democratic club in the city of New-York; but before the meeting of the Syracuse convention he resigned his position, and assigned his reasons in a letter from which the following is an extract:

“ ‘It is obviously one of the designs of the club *to support, with its characteristic zeal, the present national and State administrations.*—Perceiving, as I do, how my feelings and opinions may render it necessary for me to look beyond, and perhaps *operate against the individuals who may sway these administrations,* that the integrity of the true democratic party may be preserved—I am *compelled to withdraw* from a station in which the conflict of *obligation to my associates* and duty to my conscience might expose me to unpleasant trials.’ ”

“Foreseeing that the club would support the administration with its characteristic zeal, Mr. Brady chose to resign, because his *feelings* and *opinions* might render it necessary for him to *operate* against the individuals swaying the administration. What Mr. Brady meant by this letter was more fully and distinctly avowed in his speech recently made before the Young Men’s Democratic Club. We quote from it the following:

“ ‘Whenever any public man, false to the duties of the station he occupies, seeks to convert his office into a mere instrument for promoting the selfish schemes of his followers or himself, be it our desire and effort to discomfit and disgrace him. And when a man high in position, who is supposed to partake in some degree of the large and noble sentiments which sway our people, stoops from the eminence he should aim at adorning, to wield his influence in gratifying the revenge of disappointed ambition, or to appease the clamors of mercenary politicians, we will expose and denounce him as an object of hatred and of scorn.—[Great applause.] Some individuals at Washington now invested with authority, which the people gave, and which the people can take away, suppose that a President and his cabinet may dictate to the democratic party in this State how they should exercise their political power. We will teach them a lesson, as we have already taught one to Van Buren.—[Applause.] We will wait pa-

tiently, but with stern resolution, for the time to instruct those usurpers that offices and honors belong not to the incumbents, but to the people, and that we wage a war of extermination against all politicians, in or out of office, who would exercise the power of government to intimidate the humblest citizen in the exercise of his rights. Franklin Pierce and Mr. Guthrie have no unsatisfied claims on this country.—[Applause.] The existence of the talents of neither is essential to our progress or prosperity. We could fill their places to-morrow with abler and better men ; and we here warn them, that if they continue to be led by the wily and corrupt Marey, we will assign them, and all who unite with them in their despicable political treachery, to the impotency they will so richly deserve.”

“With sentiments of hostility to the administration like those openly avowed by these two gentlemen, they were selected by the inconsiderable fraction of the convention which met in the Globe Hotel as two of their most prominent standard-bearers. If it were legitimate to doubt whether the nomination of Messrs. Cooley and Brady was an indorsement of their opposition to the administration, that doubt would vanish in view of the fact, that the convention studiously avoided the adoption of any resolution approving its policy. This was not an accidental omission, but a premeditated act of hostility, rendered the more significant from the fact that the design of thus assailing the administration had been previously charged upon the leading men of the convention. We shall not discuss the questions as to the organization of the two conventions at Syracuse. It is enough to know that those who nominated Messrs. Brady and Cooley were distinctly notified that the other convention was prepared to adopt the most satisfactory platform, *and to approve the policy of the administration.* With this notification the friends of Messrs. Cooley and Brady declined to act in concert with them, but chose to adopt a platform *in which the approval of the policy of the administration was omitted.* The facts are conclusive to the point that this portion of the convention assembled with the fixed purpose of making a separate organization, and the basis of that organization was *opposition to the administration.* This was shown not only by the fact that there is no difference in the

two platforms, except as to an indorsement of the policy of the administration, and by the fact that the friends of Messrs. Cooley and Brady knew beforehand that this would be the only point of difference; it is shown by the fact that, with the knowledge that Messrs. Cooley and Brady were openly and bitterly hostile to the administration, they were selected as the nominees of that portion of the convention.

* * * * * * *

"With all these facts before him, Collector Bronson entered the field as an active and zealous advocate of that organization which stands stamped, in its origin, and in every step of its progress, with hostility to the administration. By his letter to the Tammany committee he threw all the weight of his high judicial as well as his high official character and station in opposition to the administration; and when rebuked for his disregard of the known policy of the President, he comes forward in a spirit of arrogant defiance, and rebels against the authority of his superiors in office. This letter of Mr. Bronson completes the chain of evidence, and presents him before the country in the same attitude of open hostility which had been previously assumed by Messrs. Cooley and Brady.

"We do not suppose that it has ever occurred to any sensible man that the President could for a moment tolerate such insubordination as Mr. Bronson exhibits in his letter to Mr. Guthrie. We cannot suppose for an instant that Mr. Bronson could have calculated on retaining his office after such an act of insubordination. He has evidently sought the sympathy which always attaches to the fate of the martyr; but he should have remembered that sympathy in the manly bosom is alone reserved for those who make sacrifices for their country or for principle, not for men who are animated by selfish objects and bow to the demands of passion and prejudice."

Here is the proof, strong as holy writ, that the delirious occupant of the "White House," and his inflated Cabinet at Washington, have undertaken the rather difficult task, I apprehend, of controlling the local elections of this State!

Secretary Guthrie's letter, transmitting to Judge Bronson the notice of his removal, indicates only the pretext for that

injudicious and unjustifiable act, while the editor of the *Union*, in apologetically laying the whole subject before the public, letters and all, gives, beyond every peradventure, the real motive which instigated the perpetration of the deed.

And, fellow-citizens, what a pitiful spectacle does this paltry meddling, on the part of the President of the United States, with our local State politics, present for the contemplation of a great, intelligent, free and independent nation! Its President stooping down from the height of his exalted station, and so far forgetting the dignity of that position, no less than what is due to his own character as an honorable man, while occupying it, as to mix up with the party State squabbles of the day, and attempt to control the feuds which now unhappily agitate and disturb the once harmonious ranks of the democracy of this commonwealth! How are the President and his cabinet belittled and lowered in the estimation of all honorable men, if any thing now could have that effect, by such reprehensible, undignified, unmanly, and despicable conduct! Every where in and out of this State, throughout the whole length and breadth of the land, except with the Short-boy bullies and slung-shot incendiaries, the cut-throats, bandits and filibusteros of Tammany Hall, and their pressgang adherents, the unjustifiable removal of Judge Bronson is condemned as a flagrant outrage on the spotless purity of that gentleman's character, and a violation of public trust injurious to the interests of the Union, and an act of ingratitude and injustice, revolting to the moral sense of every high-minded and honorable man. The President and his cabinet, however, have taken upon themselves the responsibility of the high-handed measure of dictating, to all the subordinate functionaries of the federal government, the political affinities of men for whom they may or may not be allowed to cast their votes, and yet retain office under the administration of General Pierce, who, so recently, in his stump speech, delivered from the steps of the Capitol, pompously declared to the American people, that:

"If the Federal Government will confine itself to the exercise of powers clearly granted by the Constitution, it can hardly happen that its action upon any question should en-

danger the institutions of the States, or interfere with their right to manage matters strictly domestic according to the will of their own people."

This, however, like the rest of the sounding verbiage in that political fulmination of the President, was intended, as his subsequent conduct has very clearly indicated, merely for parade and stage effect; a sort of star-spangled banner performance, just to amuse the multitude who had gathered around the General on that occasion, out of sheer curiosity to see what kind of a lion had at last got into the presidency, and taken possession of the White House.

Should this bad measure of the present administration be successfully carried out by General Pierce and his free-soil friends, its baneful, demoralizing effects cannot fail to be painfully apparent to every reflecting man who has given the slightest attention to the subject. A great centralized power, such as that evidently aimed at by the Cabinet at Washington, reaching out on every hand, and penetrating the utmost verge and the most secluded corners of every part of the Republic, through the instrumentality of myriads of its dependent agents, moulded and formed to anticipate, in their official and social relations with the people, the extreme views of the government, must of necessity break down eventually all the advantages likely to result from the free suffrages of a people: and, finally, sap the foundations of civil and religious freedom. When such men as Judge Bronson are proscribed by the President of the United States, and turned out of office with a scurrilous and rebukeful missive hurled after them from a subordinate department of the government, simply on account of having expressed a preference for one set of men over another, to fill local offices, it is high time for those who have contributed to the elevation of men to positions of power, capable of such flagrant and glaring outrages, to pause and contemplate the pernicious consequences that are likely to result to our institutions and our rights as citizens, looking up for protection to a system of equitable laws, which should be administered in a spirit of justice and enlightened patriotism.

If the President supposed that this act of violence and malevolent ingratitude, done, not only to Judge Bronson himself,

but intended, also, as it was, to outrage and insult the just sentiment of all his numerous friends, who, with Judge Bronson, contributed so largely and cordially towards the elevation of General Pierce, was to pass unrebuked, and without meeting the unqualified condemnation of an incensed and injured community, he has already discovered more than enough, in the journals of the day, which teem with expressions of indignation at this unwise act, to arouse him from the slumbers of a fatal delusion. This removal of Judge Bronson, confessedly without any pretence of official misconduct, from an office which he only accepted to oblige General Pierce, and the base attempt, through the pampered minions of executive favor, to blacken his unsullied and spotless character, presents a degree of moral turpitude, malevolence, and revenge, unparalleled in the political history of this country.

This foolish and unjust act of General Pierce, without one palliating circumstance to redeem the perfidious motive that prompted its perpetration, stamps the administration of the President with the black seal of public reprobation, to which it will be henceforth glaringly exposed.

Let not a President of the United States, even, though exalted be the station, become so giddy and deluded, as to suppose he may not be reached and exposed for flagrant acts of injustice towards those whom he has cheated and betrayed. General Pierce went into the Presidency on the popular sentiment pervading all classes of our people, contained in the compromise measures, which recemented the north and the south, and healed up the lacerated wounds inflicted by rabid secessionists and fanatic free-soilers, sealing with the indelible impress of infamy, those disorganizing, unprincipled desperadoes, whom, to the dishonor and disturbance of the country, and to the lasting disgrace of the President, he has treacherously raised up from the tomb of political pollution, and taken to his bosom as his confidential counsellors and advisers. These, and their minions, every where placed in positions of power throughout the land, revelling in official rewards, like poisonous and deleterious exhalations rising from a slough of stagnant putrefaction and death, stroll through the country, from one end of it to the other, armed with slung-shot, bowie-

knives, brickbats, and bludgeons, attempt to overawe and control the political conventions of the people, and infamize the community, and bring down the morals of our citizens to the low dead level of profanity and drunkenness, requisite now to conform to the fashionable standard in vogue with those known to be in high favor at the White House.

General Pierce charges through his official organ, the Washington Union, in an article from which I have already quoted, that Mr. Brady and myself have taken an attitude of hostility towards his administration, which places us as clearly in opposition, as if we had openly assumed the name of whigs. Hence he argues that, inasmuch as our democratic fellow-citizens have seen fit to put us in nomination for State officers, and as Judge Bronson, when goaded by the impertinence and effrontery of the abolitionizing cabal of Tammany Hall, had the manly courage and defiant firmness to declare his preference for the ticket having our names on it, to that nominated by the short-boy delegation from the stews and Five Points of the city of New-York; Bronson, himself, is therefore alleged to be in an attitude of opposition to the administration; and turned out of office.

When and how was it that Mr. Brady and myself were found in an attitude of hostility to the administration, such as it is, of General Pierce? What brought us, or, rather, drove us into an attitude of disapproval of the course of General Pierce's administration? Was it a matter of our own choice? Or were we not pressed into positions by the free-soil favorites of General Pierce, which rendered it incumbent upon us as honest men, not only to characterize his abolitionizing satellites as they deserved, but to express, also, our disapproval of the mistake he had made, in preferring the Van Buren traitors of 1848, over the better claims to executive attention and distinction, of unwavering true-hearted democrats, who had never deserted the constitutional guaranties of the government—who had always stood by the compromise measures, and who had contributed a hundred-fold more to elevate General Pierce to the presidency, than those unworthy bolters and renegades from the democratic party, on whom he appeared inclined to lavish nearly all the public patronage of the Government?

Such was manifestly the fact with respect to the conduct of General Pierce; and such, also, was the position of Mr. Brady and myself, as regards the attitude of defence we were compelled to assume towards those unworthy and corrupt cormorants for political plunder, whom he had warmed into the malignant activity of vipers and asps, by foolishly attempting to smother their cupidity and secure their friendship, by means of government place and patronage. This unfortunate state of things, General Pierce, himself, had brought about. Neither Mr. Brady nor myself had the slightest agency in producing it; and it was in sorrow, rather than in a spirit of enmity or ill-will towards General Pierce, or any member of his cabinet, that we found ourselves in positions that required a fearless expression of opinion with respect to the impropriety and injustice of the President's conduct in nominating so many short-boy bullies to places of honor and trust, to the exclusion and culpable neglect of competent and worthy democrats, who were not only warm friends of General Pierce, but they are active, liberal and influential members of the party, and have the full confidence of all who know them. Conduct of this kind, which, carried to the extent practised by General Pierce, amounts to downright treachery, we think, formed not only a subject for severe criticism, but deserved the just condemnation which we stamped upon it at the time; and which, for one, I have had no cause to regret; and, similarly placed, in like circumstances, I should do again; though I do regret exceedingly, that betrayal of the confidence and dependence placed in the character of General Pierce—which was inferred from his course in Congress and his native State, and so emphatically pronounced in his grandiloquent inaugural, with respect to his disfavor towards free-soil factionists, should have occurred, so as to have rendered it imperative on me, in conformity with a sense of duty, to utter my disapprobation of such apparent inconsistency and folly.

Had General Pierce sustained himself, and his own administration; and had he administered the government in accordance with his star-spangled inaugural, he would not now have to complain, that those who contributed to the extent of their ability, as I claim to have done myself, to

place him in the high position which he so imperfectly adorns, have assumed an attitude of open hostility to his administration. His administration then would have sustained itself, as General Jackson's did; and millions of intelligent American citizens, who now look upon his administration with loathing and contempt, would have rallied around his standard and sustained him gloriously through every emergency, and rejoiced at his success. But, after his manifested treachery towards the national democracy throughout the Union, and his persistent though futile attempts to abolitionize the democratic party, and conform its action to the principles laid down in the Buffalo platform; while professing, himself, to stand on that of Baltimore, which his free-soil friends and short-boy "witnesses" have spit upon; both General Pierce and his administration are likely to go down to posterity under the just contempt and scorn of all who entertain a decent regard for common honesty and fair dealing.

If General Pierce finds Judge Bronson, or Mr. Brady, or myself, and other national democrats, occupying an attitude hostile to him, and to the policy developed by his administration, it is not because we have changed or wavered one jot or tittle from the position we occupied at the time of his election; but it is because he himself, who at that time was supposed to be with us, has caved in and gone over to the barnburner bullies and short-boy pugilists, whom we have strenuously contended against for years, and with whose nefarious principles, which General Pierce himself seems fully to have adopted, we have waged an uncompromising warfare. Had the President remained true to the democratic faith; had he not softened and yielded at the seductive contact with the spoils of his political elevation, he would have had no just provocation to accuse Judge Bronson, nor Mr. Brady, nor myself, of standing as "clearly in opposition to him, as if we had assumed the name of whigs."

Whigs were always opposed to free soil filibusteros and barnburner bullies, and so were the national democrats; hence it is, that General Pierce having sold out, caved in, and turned free-soiler, now of necessity, owing to his change of principles and position, finds both whigs and democrats in

direct antagonism, and in open hostility to the new political attitude and character he has unfortunately assumed. However unpleasant this new attitude of hostility to the democracy, which General Pierce has assumed towards it, since his election to the Presidency, may be to his feelings, the seductive height of his position will hardly afford sufficient attraction to carry the national democratic party over to him and his free-soil friends; therefore, should he desire to change the posture of affairs, so as to bring his administration out of a hostile attitude towards those who are now, and always have been in full communion with the national democracy, his course is perfectly clear before him; he has only to come out from the free-soil party, and penitently return to that from which he has deserted, and proved himself recreant to its time-honored principles, by embracing those of political infidels and bowie-knife assassins. There has been no desertion on the part of the national democracy, of the principles on which General Pierce declared his administration to be founded, on taking charge of the government. The only deserter in the camp is the General himself, who, instead of being the honored and acknowledged leader of a great patriotic and powerful party, is now only the nominal head of a Cabal—a sort of Punch and Judy conductor of the free-soil performances, with a wire in his back, by which he is twitched backwards and forwards, and made to kick up his heels here and dance there, to just such kind of music as the organ-grinders of his cabinet take a fancy to sing in his deluded ears!

If this position is uncomfortable and disagreeable to General Pierce, he cannot say that it is not one of his own choice; nor that he assumed it without being impressively warned of its difficulties, and the mischievous consequences to him, and the success of his administration, that must inevitably result from so insane and ill-devised a procedure.

General Pierce opened the performance of his presidency on the Baltimore platform; but, having a previous engagement with the free-soil managers, the curtain fell on pronouncing his inaugural prologue there, and he has ever since been miserably playing to thin houses of ill-fame on the Buffalo stage.

It is at any time a dangerous experiment to desert friends and undertake to buy one's enemies ; but, at General Pierce's time of life, it cannot prove otherwise than every way disastrous and fatal to him.

This calamity to General Pierce and his administration was early foreseen to be the inevitable result of his insane conduct, and he was abundantly admonished of his danger ; but he has chosen of his own free-will and volition, to take live coals into his bosom and handle pitch, and he must expect to get burned and soiled by the experiment.

While the true friends of General Pierce look with sorrow on his downward course, and present position, they have for themselves, their families, and their country, high responsibilities and important duties to perform, which preclude the possibility of their indulging the slightest sympathy with his reprehensible conduct, or with that of the free soil companions whom he has chosen to accompany him along his inglorious presidential career.

If in occasional lucid moments, should such happen to occur, General Pierce returns to the lofty summit of his country's regard, which, by his stupendous treachery, he has so justly forfeited, and looks down into the "lower deep" of degradation and contempt, to which he has foolishly descended, no one will envy him the wretchedness of the contemplation ; and in commiseration of his misery, one might almost in mercy pray for the return of his delirium, to deliver him from the horrors of a conscience-smitten conviction of the pernicious evils his madness is likely to inflict upon the institutions of the Union !

What a monstrous doctrine does General Pierce attempt to inculcate, and how directly calculated is it to subvert inalienable rights, and injuriously affect domestic relations of independent and sovereign States, when he assumes a control over the suffrages of American citizens in order to mould our State elections to suit the complexion of his cabinet at Washington.

We have here, in this State, great questions of public policy, connected with our internal improvements and other important subjects, with which General Pierce cannot be otherwise than imperfectly acquainted, and which are to be

seriously affected for weal or woe, by the result of the approaching election. If the ticket prevails, for which he has so significantly expressed his preference, over that upon which he has been pleased to pronounce the fiat of executive condemnation, the conservative national democracy of New-York have abundant and most manifest reasons to believe that those great interests will be completely abandoned and sacrificed to the cupidity and plundering propensities of the adjuncts of the Tammany Hall cabal, whom General Pierce has unwisely lent the great patronage of his high office, to erect into a supremacy of authority in the Empire State.

The free people of New-York will never concede the right, to a President of the United States, nor to any other functionary of the general government, however high may be his official position, or exalted his abilities, to interfere thus audaciously, as has been attempted on the part of General Pierce and his Cabinet, with the local elections and other questions, strictly of a domestic character in this State. This daring effrontery on the part of the President and the men of moderate ability, whom he has called into his Cabinet, much to the regret of all classes of American citizens; and, as is believed, much to the detriment of the public interests, with the domestic concerns of this State; while it manifestly meets the decided disapproval of all good citizens every where throughout the country, so far as expression has been given to the all-pervading sentiment, is here, where the mischief is calculated to work the most effectual canker and poison to the interests, dear to every conservative national man, indelibly stamped with defiant disapprobation and scorn. We, of the north, after fighting gloriously, under the lead of the gallant and intrepid Dickinson, the great battle of the constitutional compromises, on which rests the stability of the Union, in favor of the State rights of the south and their peculiar domestic institutions, will not now supinely sit down and bow our heads ignominiously to the block, when our very hearthstones and households are assailed, however potent may be the aggressive force with which we may be called to contend, or however far the men of the south may come short of the high standard of support, we feel that we had reason to expect.

If the hand of executive power, which we have so largely contributed to elevate, and for which, on its advent to the Presidency, we had such high hopes of being able to support, believing as we did, in the integrity of its principles and intended future course; now that it has seen fit to change its direction and abandon the high aims indicated in the inaugural of General Pierce, is to be turned ungraciously and with ingratitude against us, it will be fearlessly resisted and gallantly combated, until that power itself, and the treacherous hand that so tyrannically wields it, are both ignominiously trampled beneath our feet. Let not the President of the United States, nor the pitiful minions of his power suppose, by turning out of office the only men who could, by possibility, lend dignity to his administration, and give it the slightest claim to respect, and insure its success, under pretence of "vindicating his policy" and "rebuking insubordination," but, substantially, with a view to influence and control the local elections of New-York, that such an unwarrantable and high-handed procedure, will for a single moment be silently submitted to, or acquiesced in by the people of this State.

The men of the south, in whose noble strife for their just rights, the gallant son of New-York, and his patriotic companions of the north, participated so largely in their extremity, may now, when their aid is so much needed to sustain the principles of that war-worn chief, and of those who stand in battle array around him, turn a deaf ear to our necessities; may, perhaps, go to the assistance of the enemy, and confirm, possibly, in the Senate of the United States, the free-soil and soft-shell appointments of General Pierce, made to replace such able, pure-minded, patriotic men as Bronson, and in favor of unscrupulous individuals, who are sworn and pledged to demolish and exterminate every vestige of nationalism, and disgrace every man not identified with the free-soil faction, headed by John Van Buren, Cochrane, Fowler, Redfield, and the Short-boy bullies of Tammany Hall; but we shall, nevertheless, contend, single-handed if need be, undismayed and unconquered, so long as God shall give us breath to continue the conflict.

We, national democrats of the north, do not, we cannot, we will not believe that the chivalric and noble-hearted men of the south, the national democrats of the genial south, with whom and us, hitherto, there has existed so much sympathy, and so much cordiality of co-operation, will now turn with coldness and indifference to our just cause, when a delirious and misguided executive officer of the government, threatens to lay his treacherous hands on our dearest rights, and bring the whole force of his power and patronage to crush us beneath his tread.

They, the generous, intelligent, and patriotic men of the south, will not fail to appreciate the justice of our cause, and the fearless boldness with which we have, thus far, foiled the murderous assaults of the common foe. God fails not to help and provide means of resistance for honest men struggling in a righteous cause, and who endeavor to help themselves.

Confiding in the purity of our purposes, in the intelligence, patriotism, firmness, and determined will of our fellow-citizens, to resist to the last the unhallowed aggressions of tyranny, let them come from whatever quarter they may, and appealing to the whole world for the justice of our cause, we "will never surrender!"

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